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Herod and Pilate reconciled :
OR THE
C O N C O R D
O F

*Papists, Anabaptists, and Sectaries, against
Scripture, Fathers, Councils, and other Or-
thodoxal Writers, for the Coercion, Deposition,
and Killing of K I N G S.*

Discovered by the Reverend Father in God, Dr. Owen,
late Bishop of St. Asaph.

*Tunc inter se concordant, cum in perniciem juste conspirant, non
quia se amant, sed quia eum qui amandum erat simul oderunt.*
August, in Psal. 36. concion. 2.

Dedicated to the Loyal Subjects of Great Britain.



L O N D O N :
Chapman, and are to be sold at his Shop next
Fountain Tavern in the Strand. 1663.

119 (15)

Herod and Pilate reconciled.

OR THE

CONCORD

OF

Papists, Anabaptists, and Separatists, against

Scripture, Fathers, Councils, and other O-
rthodox Writers, for the Conscience, Religion,
and Killing of King Charles.

Discovered by the Reverend Father in God, Dr. Owen,
late Bishop of St. Asaph.

There is no concordance, even in perdition; the necessary, non-
sense is not, but quite even this concordance is not
August, in Plal. 3d. concordance.

Dedicated to the Royal Subjects of Great Britain.

1644

1644

LONDON:

Printed and sold by J. St. John, at the shop
under the Royal Exchange, in the Strand, 1644.

To the painful Subject



He *Reverend Church*, and
Reverend Society, began to go-
 then was our in *1536*
 and the other in *1537*
 since then beginning, they
 have bestirred themselves bu-
 sily, *for by the compass of the*
North, they have made a sta-

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1536
 1537

and last, each one in his order. The *Emperor* to
 break down the wall of *Sin*, by disturbing the peace
 of the *reformed Church*, & the *Isaiah* to build up the
 ruins of *Babylon*, by mentioning the abomination
 of the *Idol*, & *Image*. These of course have
 their in *1536*, & *1537*, but the *Emperor* has
 being to the *Protestants*, and the *Emperor* to the *Church*,
 but they are so far linked behind, and so far
 with *strands* between them, that if they be
 not quenched by the power of *God*, all the
 those who the means are fitted to be *placard*
 for the *Church* on fire, and the *Emperor* in an *uproar*, *that*
 way making *Prayer*, *that* *Emperor* *Prayer*,
 beginning to *1536* *1537* *1538* *1539* *1540* *1541* *1542* *1543* *1544* *1545* *1546* *1547* *1548* *1549* *1550* *1551* *1552* *1553* *1554* *1555* *1556* *1557* *1558* *1559* *1560* *1561* *1562* *1563* *1564* *1565* *1566* *1567* *1568* *1569* *1570* *1571* *1572* *1573* *1574* *1575* *1576* *1577* *1578* *1579* *1580* *1581* *1582* *1583* *1584* *1585* *1586* *1587* *1588* *1589* *1590* *1591* *1592* *1593* *1594* *1595* *1596* *1597* *1598* *1599* *1600* *1601* *1602* *1603* *1604* *1605* *1606* *1607* *1608* *1609* *1610* *1611* *1612* *1613* *1614* *1615* *1616* *1617* *1618* *1619* *1620* *1621* *1622* *1623* *1624* *1625* *1626* *1627* *1628* *1629* *1630* *1631* *1632* *1633* *1634* *1635* *1636* *1637* *1638* *1639* *1640* *1641* *1642* *1643* *1644* *1645* *1646* *1647* *1648* *1649* *1650* *1651* *1652* *1653* *1654* *1655* *1656* *1657* *1658* *1659* *1660* *1661* *1662* *1663* *1664* *1665* *1666* *1667* *1668* *1669* *1670* *1671* *1672* *1673* *1674* *1675* *1676* 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*1963* *1964* *1965* *1966* *1967* *1968* *1969* *1970* *1971* *1972* *1973* *1974* *1975* *1976* *1977* *1978* *1979* *1980* *1981* *1982* *1983* *1984* *1985* *1986* *1987* *1988* *1989* *1990* *1991* *1992* *1993* *1994* *1995* *1996* *1997* *1998* *1999* *2000* *2001* *2002* *2003* *2004* *2005* *2006* *2007* *2008* *2009* *2010* *2011* *2012* *2013* *2014* *2015* *2016* *2017* *2018* *2019* *2020* *2021* *2022* *2023* *2024* *2025* *2026* *2027* *2028* *2029* *2030* *2031* *2032* *2033* *2034* *2035* *2036* *2037* *2038* *2039* *2040* *2041* *2042* *2043* *2044* *2045* *2046* *2047* *2048* *2049* *2050* *2051* *2052* *2053* *2054* *2055* *2056* *2057* *2058* *2059* *2060* *2061* *2062* *2063* *2064* *2065* *2066* *2067* *2068* *2069* *2070* *2071* *2072* *2073* *2074* *2075* *2076* *2077* *2078* *2079* *2080* *2081* *2082* *2083* *2084* *2085* *2086* *2087* *2088* *2089* *2090* *2091* *2092* *2093* *2094* *2095* *2096* *2097* *2098* *2099* *2100* *2101* *2102* *2103* *2104* *2105* 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and stout opposition against *heresies*, shew of austerity in their conversation, and of singular learning in their profession, *in the first kind of heresies*, they are careful to be, though they are full of *iniquity*. Whereby they have got out of *their houses*, under pretence of prayer, and contracted their seduced disciples by shew of devotion, but also battered the courts of Princes, by animating the Peeres against Kings, and the people against the Peeres, for pretended reformation. And whereas, God hath inseparably annexed to the crowne of earthly Majesty, a supreme ecclesiasticall sovereignty for the protection of *heresies*, and an absolute immunity from the judicial sentence, and Martiall violence, for the preservation of policy: These sectaries bereave Kings of both these their Princely prerogatives, exalting themselves (as the sonne of perdition) above all that is called God: Lest they might seeme, *fine ratione infanire*, to sow the seeds of sedition without shew of reason, *Adversus facinus scripturarum* (as the heretikes in Tertullian time were wont to doe) in *materiam suam*, they kill the Scripture to serve their unnes, and pervert the holy word of the eternal God, by strange interpretation, and wicked application, against the meaning of the spirit, by whom it was penned, the doctrine of the Church, to whom it was delivered, and the practise of all the goodly, (as well under the Law as the Gospel) that did beleever, understand, and obey it, to maintaine their late, and lewd opinions. I have in my hand above sixty severall places of the old and New Testament, which both the brethren of the enraged

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To the dutifull Subject.

Opposite faction doe indifferently quote, and seditiously apply, in defence of their dangerous opposition, and damnable error, against the Ecclesiasticall Supremacy, and the indeleble character of Royall Inunction. Vnto the which places, falsely expounded, perverted, and applied, I haue added the interpretation of the learned Protestants since the time of Martin Luther, who began to discover the nakednesse of the Romish Church, 1517. More especially insisting in the most mighty Kings; the most reverend Prelates, honourable Lords, Royall Clergie, and other worthy men, that haue in the Church of England, learnedly defended the Princely right, against disloyall, and undutifull opponents: which by Gods helpe I meane to publish, when I haue added the exposition of the Fathers, to confute the falshood of the Puritan popish faction, and to confirme the truth of the Protestants Doctrine in each particular quoration. I protest in all sincerity, that neither haue in this treatise, nor meane in the other, hereafter to be published, to detour any thing, to make either the cause it selfe, or the fauourers of it more odious, then their owne words, (published with the generall approbation of their severall favourites) doe truly infer, and necessarily inforce. I hope the loyall subject and Godly affected, we accept in good part my endeavour, and industry, intended for the glory of God, the honour of the King, and the discoverie of the seditious. The displeasure of the male contented factions (which can no more abide the truth, then the Owles can light, or the Franticke the Physician) I neither regard nor care for. Farewell.

• K. Henry 8.
K. James.
Th Cranmer
Io. Whitgift.
Ric. Bancroft
Arch. of Cant
Henry Earle
of Northam.
Robert Earle
of Salisbury.
The D. Burleigh, L. Treasurer of England.
The L. Elmhurst Lord Chancellor of England.
The L. Stafford
The L. Cook
B. Iovell.
B. Horne.
B. Parkinson
B. Elmhurst.
B. Gouernour.
B. Bilson.
B. Babington.
B. Andrewes.
B. Barlow.
B. Bridges.
D. Ackworth.
D. Saravia.
D. Cosens.
D. Sutcliffe.
D. Prythergh.
D. Wilkes.
D. Morton.
D. Tocker.
M. Bekinslaw.
M. Foxe.
M. Nowell.
M. Hooker, &c.
many others.

The Table of the Book

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Part 1
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and
the year 1530. until the year
1600. out of the most authentic
sources.

Neither regard nor care for. Father.



THE FIRST CHAPTER

Proveſh by the testimony of Scripture, that Kings are not puniſhable by man, but reſerved to the judgement of God.



Kings have their authority from God ^a, ¹ Rom. 13. 1. and are his Vicegerents in earth, ^b to execute justice and judgement for him amongst the Sonnes of men ^c. All subjects (as well Prelates and Nobles, as the inferior people) are forbidden with the tongue, to revile Kings ^d, with the heart, ¹ Exod. 22.

to thinke ill of them ^e, or with the hand, to resist them ^f. 28.
The great King of Heaven doth impart his owne name unto his Lieutenants the Kings of the Earth: and calleth them Gods, with an ego dixi ^g, whose word is Yea and Amen: with this onely difference, that these Gods shall dye like men ^h, and fall like other Princes. Wherefore Nathan the man of God, must reprove David ⁱ, that hee may repent, and bee saved. And the Sages, Iudges, and Nobles, (without

1 Reg. 12. 7. feare or flattery) must advise and direct *Rokeam*^r. Other attempts against Kings, the King of Kings hath neither commanded in his law, nor permitted in his Gospell. *David* Apolog. David cap. I (saith *Ambrose*) *nullis legibus tenebatur, &c.* *David* though hee were an adulterer, and an homicide, was tied to no law: for Kings are free from bonds, and can by no compulsion of law, bee drawne to punishment, being freed by the power of Government. Thus saith *Ambr.*

Saul the first King of *Israel* was rather a monster, then a man: after the Spirit of God had forsaken him, and the evil Spirit was come upon him^m. There were not many finnes against God, Man, or Nature, wherein hee transgressed not; yet his excoesse was punished, neither by the Sacerdotal Synod, nor the secular Senate: *Who can lay his hand on the Lords*

1 Sam. 16. 9. *anointed, and bee guiltlesse*? The very Anointment was the cause of *Sauls* immunity from all humane coercion: as

Aug. contr. Augustine affirmeth, *Quero si non habebat, Saul sacramentum sanctitatem; quid in eo David venerabatur*? If *Saul* had not the holinesse of the Sacrament, I aske what it was that *David* revered in him? hee honoured *Saul* for the sacred and holy unction, while hee lived: and revenged his death.

2. 42. Yea, hee was troubled and trembled at the heart, because hee had cut off a lap of *Sauls* garment. Lo, *Saul* had no innocency, and yet hee had holinesse: not of life, but of unction. So saith *Augustine*.

Who questioned *David* for his murder and adultery? who censured *Solomon* for his idolatry? though their crimes were capitall by the law of God. After that Kingdome was divided, all the Kings of *Israel*, and most of the Kings of *Judah*, were notorious Idolaters: yet during those Kingdomes, which endured above 300. yeares, no Priest did challenge, no States-men did claime power from the highest, to punish, or depose their Princes, And the Prophets perswaded all men to obey, and endure those idolatrous Princes, wholely in plety they reprov'd with the losse of their lives.

Christ fled when the people would have made him a King

The duty of Subjects.

King^a. Hee payed tribute for himselfe and *Peter*^b. When the question was propounded concerning the *Emperours* subsidy, hee concluded for *Cesar*^c. And standing to receive the judgement of death before *Pilate*, hee acknowledged his power to be of God^d. This *Saviour of Mankind*, whose actions should bee our instruction, did never attempt to change that Government, or to displace those Governours, which were directly repugnant to the scope of *Information* that hee aimed at.

John Baptist did indeed reprove King *Herod* with a *Nones*^e, but he taught not the souldiers to leave his service, or by strife and impatience, to wind themselves out of the band of allegiance, wherein the *law* had left them, and the *Gospel* found them^f.

The *Apostle* delivered unto the Church the doctrine of obedience and patience, which they had learned by the precept, and observed by the practise of our Lord *CHRIST*. *Peter* commandeth obedience to all manner of men in authority^g. *Paul* forbiddeth resistance against any power^h. And Saint *Jude* maketh it blasphemy, to revile government, or to speake evill of Governoursⁱ. If therefore an *Angell* from heaven preach otherwise, then they have delivered, let him be accursed^k.

The second Chapter proveth the same by the Fathers of the first 300. yeares.

THe true Church, which had the Spirit of understanding, to discern the voice of Christ, from the voice of a stranger, never taught, never practised, never used or approved other weapons, then salt teares, and humble prayers against the *Paganisme*, *Heresie*, *Apostacy*, and *Tyranny* of earthly Kings.

The duty of Subjects.

Iustine Martyr, Tertullian, and Cyprian shall beare witness for 300. yeares, wherein the Kings and Potentates of the earth, bathed themselves in the blood of innocents, and professed enmity against Christ and his servants.

Ad inquisitionem vestram, Christianos nos esse profiteamur, &c.

Secund. Apo-
log. ad Ant.
Imp. p. 113.

At your inquisition, we profess our selves to be Christians, though wee know death to bee the guerdon of our profession (saith *Iustine Martyr* to the Emperour *Antoninus*), did wee expect an earthly Kingdome, wee would deny our religion, that escaping death, wee might in time attaine our expectation: But we feare not persecution, which have not our hope fixed on the things of this life, because we are certainly perswaded, that wee must die. As for the preservation of publike peace, we Christians yeeld to you (O Emperour) more helpe and assistance, then other men. For wee teach, that no evill doer, no covetous man, nor seditious, that lieth in wait for blood, can have access to God: And that every man doth passe to life or death, according to the merit of his deeds: Thus farre hee.

Tertull. lib. ad
Scap.

We (saith *Tertullian* to *Scapula* the Viceroy of *Carthage*) are defamed, for seditious against the Imperiall Majesty: Yet were the Christians never found to be *Albinians, Nigrians*: or *Cassians*, (*Albinus, Niger, and Cassius* were Traytors against *Marcus Antonius, Commodus, Pertinax, and Severus* the Emperours) but they that sware by the Emperours dicty, the very day before: they that vowed and offered sacrifice for the Emperours health, are found to be the Emperours enemies. A Christian is enemy to no man, much lesse to the Emperours: knowing, that the Imperiall Majesty, is ordained of God, and therefore necessarily to bee loved, revered, and honoured, whose prosperity, together with the welfare of all the *Roman* Empire they desire so long as the world standeth. We doe therefore honour the Emperour, in such sort, as is lawfull for us, and expedient for him: wee reverence him as a mortall man, next unto God, of whom hee holdeth all his authority, onely subject to God, and so wee make him, sove-
raigne

The duty of Subjects.

migne over all, in that, wee make him subject, but to God alone: So saith *Tertullian*.

Saint *Cyprian* sheweth many good reasons, for the patience of the Saints, in his booke against *Demetrianus*. God (saith hee) is the revenger of his servants, when they are annoyed. Wherefore no Christian when hee is apprehended, doth resist or revenge himselfe against your unjust violence, though the number of our people bee very great. The confidence wee have, that God will reward, doth confirme our Patience, the guiltlesse give way to the guilty, the innocent rest content with their undeserved punishment, and tortures, being certainly assured that the wrong done to us, shall not bee unrewarded. The more injury we suffer, the more just and grievous shall Gods vengeance be on them that persecute us. It is therefore cleare and manifest, that the plagues which come downe from Gods indignation, doe not come through us poore persecuted Christians, but from him, whom we serve, for the wrong done unto us. So far *Cyprian*.

As many as lived according to Christs institution, did never revile the Government of Tyrants, much lesse by force resist their violence, following the patience of Christ, who could by his owne power, the might of his Angels, or the strength of his creatures, have at the first withstood; or, at the last revenged, the injury of the people, the buffet of the Priests servant, the scorne of *Herod*, the judgement of *Pilate*, and the violence of the souldiers. Hee yeelded himselfe patiently to death, to teach all his Disciples, that an injury done by authority, is patiently to bee endured, not forcibly to bee repelled. As soone also as *Paul* became a Christian, his sedition and bloody Spirit, which he had learned of the Pharisees, was changed into a desire of peace, and quietnesse. Hee honoured the Heathen Magistrates, as *Agrippa*, *Felix*, and *Lisias*, ratifying his Doctrine, by the practise of his life. I know that Cardinall *Alabe*, Cardinall *Bellarmino*, *Ficlerus*, *Simancha*, & other upholders of the Papall tyrannie, that *Stephanus Junius*, *Francisow*, *Hottomanus*, *Georgino Buchananus*,

Ioh. 19. 19.
Ioh. 18. 22.
Luk 23. 11.
Mark. 15. 15.
Matth. 27. 1
27. 28. 29.

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and other pillars of the *Paritane* anarchy, doe answer, that the Church then, as it were swathed in the bonds of weaknesse, had not strength sufficient to make powerfull resistance. But these *Fathers* that then lived, doe convince them, and all other sectaries of falshood, by making demonstration, of the strength and potency of the godly Christians, in case they would have put their forces to the strongest prooffe. Seing that all publike places, as Courts, Camps, Consistories, Cities, and Countrey villages, were stored and furnished with men of that profession and quality, as doth most evidently appeare by the words of *Tertulian*, in his Apologetickall defence of the Christians : *Vna nox pauculis faculis, &c.* One night with a few firebrands, would yeeld us sufficient revenge, if it were lawfull for us to requite evill for evill. But God forbid, that Christians should either revenge themselves with humane fire, or be grieved to suffer that where-with they are tried. Were we disposed, not to practise secret revenge, but to professe open hostility, should we want number of men, or force of armes? Are the Moores, or the Parthians, or any one Nation whatsoever, more in number then wee, that are spread over all the World? Wee are not of you, and yet wee have filled all the places and roomes which you have. Your Cities, Islands, Castles, Townes, Assemblies, your Tents, Tribes, and Wards; yea, the Imperiall palace, Senate, and seats of judgement. For what warre, were not wee, able and ready, though wee were fewer in number then you, that goe to our Martyrdome so willingly? if it were not more lawfull in our religion to bee slaine, then to slay? wee could without armour, not by rebelling against you, but by departing from you, doe you displeasure enough, even with our separation. For if so great a multitude, as we are, should breake out from you, as in any other corner of the World, the losse of so many Citizens would shame and punish you. You would feare, to see your selves left solitary, even amazed, as among the dead. You should then see, silence and desolation every where. You would have many more enemies,
then

then inhabitants. Whereas now, you have fewer enemies, because of the multitude of your Citizens, that are almost all Christians. *Hec Tertullian.* Wee see by these three witnesses, that the Church of God, in the first 300. yeares wanted; neither number of men, strength, nor courage to resist persecution, and to have established the Christian faith, if that course had bene lawfull: but because their Lord had given them no sword to strike withall, they chose rather to bee crowned *Martyrs*, for their Religion, then to bee punished as Traytours for rebellion. What number of men, what strength of armes had the Church (thinke you) the next 300. yeares after it had bene backed by Princes, defended by lawes, provoked by honourable favours, to professe Christianity? Yet all that while, the servants of God, neither did nor would resist Apostasie, Heresie, or Tyranny: but yeelded their lives, with all submission, though they wanted neither meanes nor multitude, convenient for any warres, as the next chapter by impregnable demonstration, shall shew.

The third Chapter proveth by the Fathers, of the second 300. yeares, that the pleasure of Princes, must bee endured with patience, when their decrees cannot bee obeyed with a good Conscience.

THe next 300. yeares, the Christians did as patiently endure Heresie, Apostasie, and Tyranny to the glorious triall of their faith; and the eternall reward of their patience. Whereof wee have a cloud of witnesses, namely, *Hofius, Liberius, Athanasius, Hilarinus, Basilus Magnus, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Lucifer Calaritanus, Cyrillus Alexan-*

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Arrianus, Optatus Milevitanus, Ambrosius, Augustinus, Chrysostomus, Leo the first, and Gregory the great.

Hosius was a famous Confessor in the Church, before *Constantine* the great, a worthy Bishop during that Emperours raighe, and after his death greatly esteemed of all good men, yea even of *Constantinus* the Arrian Emperour himselfe, for his old age, great experience, excellent learning, and good conversation. When this worthy Prelate, was commanded by the Emperour, to subscribe to the condemnation of *Athanasius*, hee returned to. the Imperiall Majesty. this stout, constant, Christian, and dutifull answer; *Ego confessionis munus implevi primum, cum persecutio moveretur, ab avo tuo*

● *obsequere* to
scribe contra
Athanasium
qui enim con-
tra illum scri-
bit ille plane
nobiscum, &c.

Maximiniano : I was then a Confessor, when your Grandfather *Maximinian* persecuted the Church. And if you doe now raise persecution, I am ready to endure any thing, rather then betray the truth and shed innocent blood. I doe not like your manner of writing against *Athanasius*: Cease from it, bee not of the Arrian opinion : Give no care to the Easterne Bishops: beleeve mee rather, that for age might bee your Grandfather. Leave off I beseech you, and call to mind, that you are a mortall man. Feare that dreadfull day of judgement. Intempose not your selfe (O Emperour) into the Ecclesiasticall service, neither command us in this kind, to condemne the innocent : but learne rather of us. God hath entrusted your Majesty with the Empire, and committed unto us, the service of the Church : hee that with an envious eye, maligneth your imperiall Sovereignty, contradicteth the ordinance of God. Take heed (O Prince) least drawing to your selfe the right of the Church, you become guilty of grievous transgression. It is written, Give unto Caesar the things that are Caesars, and to God the things that appertaine to God; it is therefore, neither lawfull for us Priests, to usurpe your Kingdome : not for you Princes, to meddle with the sacred service, and sacrifices of the Church. Thus saith *Hosius*. You see the grounds, that this good Bishop stood upon : rather resolved to suffer any death or torture,

Hosius apud
Athanasium adso-
litarium vi-
tam agentes.

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verine, which by his consent to betray the truth, or to con-
demne the guiltlesse. He admonisheth freely, and reproveth
sharply, hee offereth his life to the Princes pleasure. It was
farre from his meaning, to revile the sacred Majesty, or to
stirre up any rebellion, against this Horrible Emperor,
which infringed the *Canons* of the Church, without disre-
gard of truth or equity, to serve the humours of the *Arrians*,
and to wreck his anger on them all, which yielded not to
that heresie.

Liberius a Bishop of *Rome*, did neither excommunicate
nor depose this wicked Emperor *Constantine*, but appea-
red at his command, and endured his pleasure, to the admi-
nition of the *Arrians*, and the confirmation of the *Chri-*
stians, as wee find in *Athanasius*, *Tractatus Liberius ad Im-*
peratorem, &c. *Liberius* was lialed to the Emperour; when
hee came to his presence hee spake freely, Cease (said hee)
O Emperour, to persecute the *Christians*, goe not about by
any means, to bring *Hereticall impiety* into the Church of
God. Wee are ready, rather to endure any torture, than to
be called *Arrians*. Compell us not to become enemies unto
Christ. Fight not against him (wee beseech you) that hath
bestowed the Empire upon you. Render not impiety to
him for his grace, persecute them not which beleve in him,
least you heare, *It is hard for thee to kick against the prick*.
Oh would to God you did so heare it that you might (as
Paul did) beleve it. Lo we are at hand and come to your
presence, before our enemies the *Arrians* can invent any
thing to informe against us, wee hastened to come at your
command, though wee were assured of banishment, that wee
might abide our punishment, before any crime could be
objected, much lesse proved against us. Wherby it may
appeare, that all *Christians* are (as was now hee) undeser-
vedly punished, and the crimes laid to their charge not true
but fained by sycophancy or deceitfull subtilty. Thus spake
Liberius, and every man admired his resolution; but the Em-
perour for answer commanded him to banishment. Thus far
he.

C

Pop.

*Liberius quo
supra quod A-
thanasius.*

A. 9. 5.

Pope *Liberius* had not learned the language of his Successor *Pius Quintus*, when hee belloyed against our late Queen, nor that principle of the Puritans, that the inferior Officer may use force of armes against the chiefe Magistrate that shall become a Tyrant (*Whose every sedition is worthy will be judge*) and not onely defend himselfe, and his owne people, but also any other that shall fly unto him.

Polit. Christ.
16. c. 3.

Hilarius ad
Imper. Constant.
Hilarius.

Hilarius, a Bishop of France, wrote the same time to the same Emperour in most humble manner, *Benedictus tuus Domine beatissime Auguste*: Your mild nature, most blessed Emperour, agreeing with your gracious disposition, and the money which floweth abundantly, from the fountaine of your Fatherly godlinesse, doe assure us, that we shall obtaine our desired. We beseech you, not onely with words, but also with teares, that the Catholique Church, beset longer oppressed with grievous injuries, and endure intollerable persecutions, and cruelties, and that (which is most shamefully) ever of our brethren. For your Clemency provide, &c.

Surely, if it had then bene knowne, that the Pope, by his absolute power or indirect authority, could have punished or deposed Kings; which the Papists avouch, or for the Peeres or the people to have done it, which the Protestants affirme, some of the said Bishops, would have pressed that point against this Hereticall Prince, which would his sword to the blaspheming of Christ, the murdering of the Saints, the seducing of many thousand Soules, by strengthening, maintaining, and establishing the Arrian error. But they thought to doe no Christian mans part, to beare armour (no nor defensively) against the Prince, though never so wicked, cruel, or ungodly.

Holy Scriptures containeth the power of Kings to be of God, and their authority not to be punished by man.

Simon

**L. Cooke in
his speech at
Garnett's ar-
raignment.**

of England, who employed *William O'Neale* into *Spain*,
in the Month of *October*, *Ann: dom: 1685* to make re-
quest to the *Spanish King*, in the behalf and names of the
English Protestants, that he would lead an army hi-
ther into *England* for the advancement of their Catho-
lique cause; and to promise, that the forces of the *Papists*
here should be ready to do him service against the *Irish*
Queen.

The selfe same Doctrine of sedition, was published in the years after, viz. Anno. Dom. 1601. by *Guilielmus Brouwer*, a man of an excellent Character among the *Protestants*; and that, at the earnest request of *Charles* and *Guilielmus*, the chief Ministers of the Church of *Geneva*, (if the Author himselfe believeth not,) whose words are as followeth: *Subditis, sic publica & manifesta seditione, licet fieri* (supplere, implere, auxiliari, &c.) *seditione contra defensionem alie regni, sicut: Subjects, when they seduce publique and manifest wrong, may lawfully become supplicants to forraigne states, and crave their aid against their Princes: and other kings ought to take upon them their defence and protection. So farre Brouwer*

Subject, must require their subjection, according to the will of God; we are got after the affection and transient men. Saul commanded *Dag* to smite the 85. Priests, to destroy their City, Men, Women, and Children with the edge of the sword. Did *David*, for whom they were slain; when he had *Saul* in his power, take revenge on him by his servants to get us, when they were ready to do themselves to slay *Saul*? *David* did not do this; his too, and caused him to be killed. Did *Achish* sell to four against him, that was both a *Mercy* and an *Adultery*. *Achish* brought him the land and many strange Wives, and so many *Wives*, *Religion* with the *Shewbread*. Did he high Priest, the Priests, the Prophets, and the people of *Is* to challenge or depose him? *Isaiah* 1. *Isaiah* of *Is* to put *David* to death, and to kill the *Levites*. *Isaiah*

Loc. com.
Theol. loco :
77. p. 843.

21 SAM. 22.18.

Dr. Sam. R. R.

4. 37.

• 2 Reg. 11.8.

41 Rec. 21.

plots: Did *Blas* depose him; incite his subjects to rebell
against him, or implore forraigne aid to destroy him? *Herod*
beheaded *John Baptist*, killed *James*, imprisoned *Peter*,
and would have slain him also, if hee had not beene deliv-
ered by an Angell: Did *Peter* take vengeance on *Herod*,
which hee might have done with a word; as well as on
Anania? No: he did leave him to the Lord, whose judge-
ment infused in most & fearful manner. In a word, wicked
Princes have never beene lawfully punished by Prelates,
Forerats, or people of their Kingdome, as the *Papists* and
Erasmians averre: but must bee referred to the judgement of
God, as the *Protestants* affirme.

Mark. 6. 27.
A. 12. 24.

A. 5. 5.
A. 12. 23.

Gregory Nazianzen in his oration at the funerall of Saint
Basil, reporteth, that the Emperours Deputy in *Pontus*,
commanded Saint *Basil* to put out a widow, that had taken
sanctuary to save her selfe from forced marriage. The Bi-
shop (not willing to violate the Ecclesiasticall lawes gran-
ted by the Imperiall Majesty) refused so to doe. The Go-
vernour called the Bishop before him, threatened to whip
him, and to teare his flesh with iron hookes: the people
hearing that indignity offered to the Bishop, fell to an up-
rore, and would have slain the Lieutenant; Had not this in-
tercession of God, much more sayd thus for us in smalls,
and delivered his persecutour from that perill, to whose pleasure
hee did afterwards submit himselfe.

Basilus Mag.
num.

Menodia Na-
zian. inter-
puscula Basil.
fol. 95.

The same *Nazianzen* for his admirable learning, cal-
led the *Divine*, writ aboue *Julian* the Apostat. Emperours
death: *Julian* was punished by the mercy of God, through
the teares of Christian men, which teares were many, and
shed of many, for that they had no other remedy, against
that persecutour. Thus saith *Nazianzen*. This godly Fa-
ther lived under five Emperours *Constantinus*, *Julianus*,
Valens, *Valentinianus*, and *Theodosius*, in all which time,
hee could find no remedy against the Tyranny, Heresie,
and Apostasie of Princes, beside prayers and teares:
The Devil of Hell had not as yet hatched the distincti-

Orat. cont.
Julian.

ons of *proprie* and *improprie*, *directa* and *indirecta*, *freque*
ter and *secundum quid*, *absoluti* & *in ordine ad finem*,
wherewith the *Iesuitae* doe fill the schooles with clamorous
evasions, the Church with erroneous superstition, and many
Christian states with tragick sedition! : IESU. A new boy

Lucifer Calarizanus in sundry books against *Confessors*, useth many immodest and dishonourable speeches: but he perswaded not the Pope to depose him, the State to punish him, the people to rebell against him, or forrainers aid to suppress him, but threatened him with the dreadfull punishment of God. Hee that, (in the brevity of a seile) durst call so cruell an Emperour, *Theophilus Church-robber, Murderer, Beast, Hangman, Heretic, idolater, Idolatrous, the Forerunner of Antichrist, and Antichrist himselfe*, would surely have encouraged the Pope, the Generall of the people, to have removed that evill King, and placed a better in his stead: if there had been any such opinion in those dayes, as our modern *Iesuits* and *Puritans* beare now to the World in hand. As this Father, in his writings, kept not the modesty of the other Fathers, which lived in that age under *Constantinus*: so hee did not continue in the unity of the Catholique Church. *Lucifer* (with *Antony*) withdrew himselfe from our communion, though hee was shew'd to be a false man.

When Ambrose was commanded, to deliver up his Church in Milan, to *Ambrosius*, an Arian Bishop, he declared his resolution in a Sermon to the people: Which were very sorry for his departure. *Quid mirum? Vultis Nunquam vos deferre:* Why are you troubled? It will never willingly depart from you. If I be compelled, I have no way to resist: I can sorrow, I can weep, I can fight, my tears are my weapons against Soldiers, Armour, Gothicus is the munition of a Priest: by any other means, than tears, I neither ought nor can resist: to spare *meum*. Not disability but duty, not want of strength, and martial forces, but a reverend regard of the Emperor's will.

Orat. in obit.
fratris Satir

*Orat. Antioch.
fui ad populum
inter Epiſt.*

31. 33

fully commanded by the law of God, hope this blessed *An-
drew* from resisting. For he might easily have wrought
the Churches liberty, his owne safety, and the Ancians cala-
mity by the overthrow of the Emperour; through the force
of the Garrison in that City, which refused, to attend the
Prince to any other Church, then that wherein *Andrew*
was. The stout and peremptory answer of the Captaines
and Souldiers, is thus reported by *Andrew* in an Epistle to
to *Marcellinus*, a Religious woman; *Si proinde vellent habere
optimum pro se futurum*: The Emperour may god at his plea-
sure, they would bee ready to attend him, if hee would goe
to the Catholike assemblies: or otherwise, they would
keepe on their way to that Congregation, wherein *And-
rew* was: *Plus forte les Souldiers*. They refused (as you
see) to obey, and preferred Gods service before the
Emperours favour: they reviled nor his sacred person, they
refused nor his soveraign power, but yielded themselves
to his mercy and pleasure, to save their Soules from Gods
wrath and displeasure, as wee find in the same Epistle, *Quia
Iob mirum est asseveramus*, I went to Church to extoll the
patience of *Iob*, where I found every one of my hearers, a
Iob, worthy to bee extolled. In every one of you *Iob* is re-
vived, in each of you his patience, and vertue shined, what
could bee said better by Christian men, then that which the
holy Ghost this day spake in you? Wee beseech (O Empe-
rour,) wee offer not to fight, wee fear not to die; wee in-
treat your clemency. Oh it was sorely for Christian soul-
diers, to desire the tranquillity of peace and faith, and to
bee constant in truth, even unto death. Thus saith *the
Apostle*, and he that is not obedient to Christ, shall not be
the Saints, who follow the footsteps of the Christian soul-
diers, untille *the* *Apostle* has Emperour: *Julianus* *re-
fute Imperator infidelis*, *Julian* was an unbelieving Emperour;
was hee nor an Apostate, an Oppressour, and an Idolater?
Christian Souldiers served that unbelieving Emperour.
When they came to the cause of Christ, they would ac-
knowledge

Epist. 354

Epist. eadem.

knowledge no Lord but him that was in Heaven: when they were commanded to adore Idoles, and to offer sacrifice, they preferred God before their Prince. But when hee called upon them to warre, and bad them invade any nation, they presently obeyed. They did distinguish their eternall Lord, from the temporall King, yet they submitted themselves to their temporall Lord, for his sake that was their eternall King: So farre hee.

August. in
Psal. 124.

Optatus Milevitanus, is another pregnant witness: *Com super Imperatorem nemo fit nisi solus Deus*. Seing there is no man above the Emperour, beside God alone, which made the Emperour; *Donatus*, by advancing himselfe above the Emperour, doth exceed the bounds of humanity, and makeeth himselfe a God rather then man, in that hee feareth and reverenceth him not, whom all men should honour next after God: So farre *Optatus*.

De schism.
Donatist. l. 3.

Com. in E-
vang. Ioh. 1.
22. c. 36.

Saint Cyril is of the same judgement. *Qui legi prevaricatores liberare licet nisi legi ipsius auctori?* Who can acquit them that breake the law, from transgression, beside the Law-giver? as we see by experience, in all humane states, no man can without danger, breake the law, but Kings themselves, in whom the crime of prevarication hath no place. For it was wisely said of one, that it is a wicked presumption, to say to a King, *Thou dost amisse*. So farre hee.

In 1. epist. ad
Timoth. c. 2.
v. 1.

And also *Saint Chrysostome*. What meaneth the Apostle (saith hee) to require prayers and supplications, intercessions, and thanksgiving, to bee made for all men? hee requireth this to bee done in the dayly service of the Church, and the perpetuall rite of Divine religion. For all the faithfull doe know, in what manner prayers are poured out before the Lord morning and evening, for all the world: even for Kings, and every man in authority. Some man will (peradventure) say, that, *for all*, must be understood of all the faithfull. Which cannot bee the Apostles meaning, as may appeare by the words following, viz. *for Kings*.

Kings.

Kings: Seeing that Kings neither did then, nor in many ages after, serve the living God: but continued obstinately in infidelity, which by courtes of succession they had received: Thus farre *Chrysostom*. Our Moderne Reformers teach us that which *Paul* and *Chrysostom* neither knew nor beleaved, that wicked Princes are not to bee prayed for, but to be resisted, &c.

See the preface before Basilic. Dor.

When the faction of *Eutiches* had prevailed against the Catholikes, *Leo* the first, had no other remedy then prayers to God, sighes, teares, and Petitions to the Emperour: *Omnes partes nostrarum Ecclesie*, &c. All the Churches of these parts, all wee Priests, even with sighs, and teares, beseech your Majesty, to command a generall Synod to bee held in *Italy*, that all offences being removed, there may remaine, neither error in faith, nor division in love. Favour the Catholiques, grant liberty to protect the faith against Heretiques, defend the state of the Church from ruine, that Christ his right hand may support your Empire: Thus farre *Leo*.

Epist. 24. ad Theod. Imper.

When *Gregory* the great was accused for the Murther of a Bishop in prison, hee wrote to one *Sabinianus*, to cleare him to the Emperour and Empresse. *Breviter suggeras* *Epist. lib. 7.*
serenissimis Dominis vestris: You may briefly informe my soveraigne Lord and Lady, that if I their servant, would have busied my selfe with the death of the *Lombards*, that nation would by this time have had neither Kings, nor Dukes, nor Earles, and should have beene in great confusion and division: but because I stood in awe of God; I was ever afraid, to meddle with the shedding of any mans blood: so farre *Gregory*. These *Lombards* were Pagans, Invaders of the Countrey, Ransackers of the City, Persecutors of the Saints, Robbers of the Church, Oppressours of the poore: whom *Gregory* the first might, and would not destroy, *Quia Dominum timuit*, because hee feared God. It is very like, that his Successour *Gregory* the seventh, feared either God nor man, when hee erected the Papall Croisier against

Epist. 1.

against the regall scepter, and read the sentence of deprivation, against the Emperour *Henry*: *Ego autoritate Apostolica, &c.* I by my power Apostolicall, doe berceave *Henry* of the *Germane* Kingdome, and doe deprive him of all subjection of Christian men, absolving all men, from the allegiance, which they have sworne unto him. And that *Rodolph*, whom the Peeres of the Empire have elected, may governe the Kingdome: I grant all men, that shall serve him against the Emperour, forgiveness of their sinnes, in this life and in the life to come. As I have for his pride dejected *Henry* from the Royall dignity, so I doe exalt *Rodolph* for his humility, to that place of authority: Thus saith *Gregory* the seventh.

*Carol. Sigon.
de Regno
Ital. lib. 9.
in vita Hen. 3.*

*Benno Card.
in vit. Gre-
gor. 7.*

It is no wonder, that *Gregory* his chaire clave asunder, as some Writers affirme, at the giving of this sentence; because the proud Pope, and his wicked sentence, were too heavy a burthen for *Peters* steele of humility to beare.

The fourth Chapter proveth the Immunity of Kings by the Fathers of the third

century, 300. years.

After the death of *Gregory* the great, which was about the year of our Lord 604. *Sabinianus* did succeed him, who lived but one year, after whom came *Boniface* the third, which obtained of *Pope* to be called *Universal Bishop*; since that time *Papal* versus *Imperial* power, the Emperours waxed weak, and the Bishops wicked. What the judgement of those Fathers then was, concerning subjection to wicked Kings, I will make evident by the testimony of *Gregory* the seventh, *Isidorus*, *Damasus*, &c.

masceus, Beda, Fulgentius, Leo 4. and the Fathers assembled in a Councell at Toledo in Spaine.

Gregory Turonensis acknowledgeth such an absolute power in *Childerick*, a most wicked King of France, as was free from all controll of man: *Si quis de nobis (Rex) iustitia limites transcendere voluerit, &c.* If any one of us (O King) doe passe the bounds of justice, you have power to correct him, but if you exceed your limit, who shall chastise you? Wee may speake unto you; if you list not to hearken, who can condemne you, but that Great God, who hath pronounced himselfe to bee righteousnesse? *Hactenus ille.* Hisorl. 5. c. 1.

Isidorus saith no lesse for the immunity of the Kings of Spaine. Let all earthly Princes know, that they shall give account of the Church, which Christ hath committed to their protection. Yea, whether the peace and discipline Ecclesiasticall bee advanced, by faithfull Kings, or dissolved by the unfaithfull, hee will require a reckoning at their hands, which hath left his Church in their power. So saith *Isidorus.*

John Damascene pleadeth not onely for the exemption of wicked Kings themselves, but also of their Deputies. The Governours (saith hee) which Kings create, though they bee wicked, though they bee theeves, though they bee unjust, or otherwise tainted with any crime, must bee regarded. Wee may not condemne them, for their impiety: but must reverence them, because of their authority, by whom they were appointed our Governours. So saith hee. Parallel. l. 1. c. 21.

Fulgentius saith, that no kind of sedition can stand with religion. *Compro vestro fide libere respondemus, &c.* When wee answer freely for our profession, wee ought not to bee taxed with the least suspicion of disobedience or contumely, seeing wee are not unmindfull of the Regall dignity, and doe know, that wee must feare God, and honour the King, according to the Doctrine of the Apostle, Give to Fulgent. ad Thrasim reg.

*each one his due, feare to whom feare, honour to whom honour ap-
 1 Pet. 2. 17. pertaineth.* Of the which feare and honour, Saint Peter
 hath delivered unto us the manifest knowledge, saying, As
 the servants of God, honour all men, love brotherly fel-
 lowship, feare God, honour the King. Thus saith *Fulgenti-
 um.*

Lib. 4. exposit. in Samuel.
 1 Sam. 21. 6.
 Our Countreyman *Beda*, for his great learning called
Venerable, is of the same mind. *David* (saith hee) for two
 causes spared *Saul*, who had persecuted him most mali-
 ciously. First, for that hee was his Lord, annointed with
 holy oile. And secondly, to instruct us by morall precepts,
 that wee ought not to strike our Governours, (though they
 unjustly oppresse us) with the sword of our lips: nor pre-
 sume slanderously, to teare the hemme of their superfluous
 actions. So saith hee.

Cap. de capit. dist. 15.
 Leo the fourth about the ycare 846. agnised all subjection
 to *Lotharius* the Emperour: I doe professe and promise
 (saith *Leo*) to observe and keepe unviolably, as much as lieth
 in me, for the time present and to come, your Imperiall ordi-
 nances and commandments: together with the decrees of
 your Bishops, my Predecessours: If any man informe your
 Majesty otherwise, know certainly, that hee is a lier. So
 saith *Leo*.

Council. Tol. 5.
Can. 2. circa annum Dom.
 636.
 The Bishops of *Spaine* assembled in a nationall Councell
 at *Toledo*, made this decree against perjury and treason.
Quicumque modo ex nobis: Whosoever among us shall from
 this time forward, violate the oath which hee hath taken
 for the safeguard of this Country, the state of the Gothish
 nation, and the preservation of the Kings Majesty: whoso-
 ever shall attempt the Kings death, or deposition: whoso-
 ever shall by tyrannicall presumption aspire to the regall
 throne; let him bee accursed before the holy Spirit, before
 the blessed Saints, let him bee cast out of the Catholique
 Church, which hee hath polluted by perjury, let him have
 no communion with Christian men, nor portion with the
 just, but let him be condemned with the Devill and his An-
 gels.

gels eternally, together with his complices, that they may bee tied in the bond of damnation, which were joynd in the society of sedition. Thus saith the Fathers in that Synod.

I conclude therefore with these learned Fathers, that it is not for the people, otherwise then with humility and obedience, to controll the actions of their Governours: but their duty is onely to call upon the God of Heaven, and so submit themselves to his mercy, by whose ordinance the Scepter is fallen into his hand and power, that enjoyeth the Crowne, whether hee bee good or bad. A right of deposing, must bee either in him that hath an higher power, which is onely God: or in him, that hath better right to the Crowne: which the Pope cannot have, because hee is a stranger: nor the Peeres, or people, because they are subjects. Bee the King for his Religion impious, for his Government unjust, for his life licentious, the subject must endure him, the Bishop must reprove him, the Councillour must advise him, all must pray for him, and no mortall man hath authority to disturbe or displace him, as may evidently bee seene by the Chapter following.

*The fifth Chapter confirmeth this
Doctrine by the Fathers of the fourth
300. yeares.*

IN this age of the Church, the Popes exalted themselves above all that is called God, and upon private displeasures and quarrels, did curse and banne Princes, incensing their Neighbour-nations, and perswading their owne subjects, to make warre against them, as if Christ had ordained his Sacraments, not to bee scales of grace,

and helps of our faith, but hookes to catch Kingdomes, and rods to scourge such Potentates as would not, or could not procure the Popes favour. How farre thele Popish pra-
 gises, did displease the godly and learned, I will shew by
 Saint Bernard, *Waltheramus* Bishop of *Nauumberg*, the Epi-
 stle *Apolegeticall* of the Church of *Leige* against *Pascha-*
lis the Pope, and the Authour of *Henry* the fourth his
 life.

Saint Bernard, in one of his Sermons upon the words
 of CHRIST; *I am the vine*; commendeth the answer of
 a certaine King, *Bene quidem Rex; cum percussus humana sa-*
gitta, &c. It was well said of a King when hee was shot
 into the body with an arrow, and they that were about
 him, desired him to bee bound untill the arrowes head
 were cut out, for that the least motion of his body would
 endanger his life: no (quoth hee) it doth not befitme a
 King to bee bound, let the Kings power bee ever safe and
 at liberty. And the same Father in an Epistle to *Ludo-*
vicus Crassus the King of *France* teacheth subjects, how
 to rebell and fight against their Princes; *Quicquid vobis in*
Regno vestro, de Anima & Corona vestra facere placuerit.
 Whatsoever you please to doe with your Kingdome, your
 Soule, or your Crowne, wee that are the Children of the
 Church cannot endure or dissemble the injuries, con-
 tempt, and conculcation of our Mother. Questionlesse wee
 will stand and fight even unto death in our Mothers be-
 halfe, and use such weapons, as wee may lawfully, I meane
 not swords and speares, but prayers and teares to God.

Bernard. E-
 pist. 221.

When *Gregory* the seaventh had deposed *Henry* the
 fourth, hee gave away the Empire to one *Rodolphus* Duke
 of *Saxony*; that was a sworne subject to that distressed
 Emperour, which *Rodolp*, in a battaile against his Sovereigne
 Lord, lost his right hand, and gained a deadly wound. Af-
 ter his death, the Pope made one *Hermannus* King of *Ger-*
many, who enjoyed his Kingdome but a little time, for hee
 was slaine with a stone, which a woman threw upon him
 from

from a turret, as hee made an assault (in sport) against his owne Castle, to try the valour of his souldiers. Then did Egbertus, by the Popes encouragement ascend the Imperiall throne, whereon he sate but a while: for as hee stepped aside from his army into a mill, to rest himselfe in the heat of the day, hee was discovered by the miller to the Emperours friends, and lost his life for his labour. During this hurly-burly in that state *Walibramus* a godly Bilhop, wrote to one *Ludovicus* an Earle of the Empire, diswading him from partaking with the seditious against that good Emperour, whom the Pope had deposed. *Walibram* by the grace of God, that hee is, to *Lewes* the noble Prince, with instance of prayer, offreth himselfe in all things serviceable. Concord is profitable to every Realme, and justice much to be desired: these vertues are the Mother of devotion, and the consecration of all honesty. But whosoever seeketh after civill dissention; and incenseth other to the effusion of blood, hee is a murderer, and partaketh with him, who gaping for blond, goeth about seeking whom hee may devour: The worthy vessell of election, that was taken up to the third Heaven, protesteth, saying, Let every Soule submit himselfe to the higher power, there is no power but from God. Hee that resisteth power, resisteth the ordinance of God. If that bee true (which some men prate among women and the vulgar sort) that wee ought not to bee subdued to the Kingly power, Then it is false which the Apostle teacheth, that every Soule must submit himselfe under power and superiority. Can the truth lie? did not Christ the Lord speake by the Apostle? Why doe wee provoke the Lord? are wee stronger then hee? Doth not hee thinke himselfe stronger then the Lord, that resisteth the ordinance of God? seeing there is no power but of God: what saith the Prophet? Confounded bee they that strive against the Lord, and they that resist him shall perish. *Rodolphus, Hermannus, Egbertus*, with many other Princes, resisted the ordinance of God in *Henry* the Emperour, but loe they

Ex viis
Henr. quanti
que habetur
in fasciculo
rerum scien-
darum Celo-
nie impresso.

Epist. Wald.
que habetur
in appendice
Marian. Scot.

they are confounded, as though they had never beene, for as their end was ill, their beginning could not be good, &c.
Hec ille.

Pope *Paschalis* seeing the bad successe of those seditious subjects, which his Predecessours *Gregory* and *Urbanus* had armed against *Henry*, that worthy Emperour: did perswade the Emperours owne Sonne, against all Law of God, Nature, and Nations, to rebell against his Father. The Bishop of *Leige* tooke the Emperours part, against this young Prince, for the which hee was excommunicate, his Church interdicted, and *Robert* Earle of *Flanders* commanded by the Pope, as hee hoped to have the forgiveness of his sinnes, and the favour of the Church of *Rome*, to destroy that Bishop and his false Priests.

The Churchmen of *Leige* terrified with the Popes excommunication, and fearing the Earles oppression, wrote an *Apologie* for themselves about the yeare 1106. We are excommunicate (say they) because wee obey our Bishop, who hath taken part with his Lord the Emperour. These are the beginnings of sorrow: for Satan being loosed, compasseth the earth, and hath made a division betwene the Prince and the Priest: who can justly blame the Bishop that taketh his Lords part, to whom hee hath sworn allegiance? perjury is a great sinne, whereof they cannot bee ignorant, that by new Schisme and novell tradition, doe promise to absolve subjects from the guilt of perjury, that forswear themselves to their Lord the King, &c.

In the progresse of their *Apologie* they determine three great questions: First, whether the Pope hath power to excommunicate Kings? Secondly, to whom it belongeth to inflict temporall punishment, when Church-men offend against faith, unity, or good manners? And thirdly, what remedy subjects have against their Kings, that are impious or tyrannous? *Si quis respectu sancti Spiritus, &c.* If any man having respect to the Spirit of God, shall turne over the old and new Testament, he shall plainly find that Kings ought

*Epistol. Leonis
apud
Simonem
scard.*

ought not at all or very hardly be excommunicate, whether wee consider the Etimologie of their names, or the nature of their excommunication. Even till this day hath this point bene questioned, and never determined. Kings may bee admonished and reprov'd, by such as bee discreet and sober men, for Christ the King of Kings in earth, who hath placed them in his owne stead, hath reserved them to his owne judgement, &c.

Their answer to the second question, is grounded on the testimony of Saint *Augustine*, the practise of Princes, and the authority of *Paul*. Kings (say they) and Emperours by their publike Lawes, have forbidden Heretiques, to enjoy any Worldly possession. Wherefore seeing wee are no Heretiques, and that it belongeth not to the Pope, but to Kings and Emperours to punish Heresies, why doth our Lord *Paschalis*, send *Robert*, his Armour-bearer, to destroy the possessions and to overthrow the Villages of the Churches, which in case they deserved destruction, ought to bee destroyed by the edict of Kings and Emperours, which eary the sword not without good cause? &c.

For answer to the third question, they shew by sundry places of Scripture, that there is no other helpe against evill Princes, then prayer and patience. *Nihil modo pro Imperatore nostro dicimus, &c.* Wee will for the present say nothing in defence of our Emperour, but this wee say, though hee were as bad as you report him to bee, wee would endure his government, because our sinnes have deserved such a Governour. Bee it: wee must needs grant against our will, that the Emperour is an Arch-heretike, an invader of the Kingdome, a worshipper of the *Simonaicall* Idoll, and accused by the Apostles and Apostolike men, as you say of him: even such a Prince ought not to bee resisted by violence, but endured by patience and prayer. *Moses* brought many plagues upon *Pharaoh*, whose heart God had hardened, but it was by prayer and the lifting up his hands to Heaven. And Saint *Paul* requireth prayers to bee made

Epist. Leod.

for all men, for Kings and such as are in authority : which Kings were neither Catholikes nor Christians. *Baruch* also from the mouth of the Prophet *Jeremy*, wrote unto the *Iewes*, which were captives unto the King of *Babylon*, that they must pray for the life of *Nabuchodonosor*, the King of *Babylon*, and *Balthazar* his Sonne, that their dayes in earth may bee as the dayes of Heaven, &c. Saint *Paul* teacheth why wee ought to pray for evill Kings, namely, that under them wee may lead a quiet life. It would become an Apostolike man, to follow the Apostles Doctrine : it were prophetically to follow the Prophet, &c. Thus farre they in their *Epistle Apologeticall*.

Vica Henr. A.
quo supra.

Hee that wrote the life of this Emperour *Henry* the fourth, an ancient, a modest, and an impartiall Relatour of such occurrents as happened in his time, declareth his dislike of the Popes practices, and the *Germanes* tumults against their said soveraigne Lord. *Magnum Mundo documentum datum est* : A great instruction was given to the World that no man should rise against his Master. For the hand of *Edolph* being cut off, shewed a most just punishment of perjury; hee feared not to violate his fidelity sworne to the King, and his right hand was punished, as if other wounds had not bene sufficient to bring him to his death, that by the plague of the rebellions, the fault of rebellion might be perceived : Thus farre hee.

*The sixth Chapter proveib the same
by the testimony of the Writers from the 12.
hundred yeares downward.*

I Will for conclusion produce *Ozho Frisingensis*, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Gratianus*, *Philip the faire King of France*, the Parliament of *England* in the time of *Edward the first*, &c.

centus, and *Anton Silvius* that afterward was Pope, by the name of *Pius secundus*.

Otho Frisingensis hath an excellent saying in his Epistle Dedicatorie to *Frederick Barbarossa*; *Cam nulla persona mundialis inveniatur qua mundi legibus non subiaceat*, &c. Although no earthly man can bee found, that is not subject to the Lawes of the World, and in respect of subjection, liable to correction: Kings as it were placed over Lawes, are not restrained by them, but reserved to the examination of God, according to the words of the King and Prophet.

Otho Frising.
in his Epistle
Dedicatorie
before his
Chronicle.

Against thee onely have I sinned: It becommeth therefore Psal. 51. 5. a King, both in respect of the noble disposition of his mind, and the spirituall illumination of his soule, to have God, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, ever in his mind, and by all meanes possible, to take heed, that hee fall not into the hands of God, seeing it is (as the Apostle saith) a fearefull thing, to fall into the hands of the living God. It is more fearefull for Kings, then for any other, because Kings have none but God himselfe above them, whom they need feare.

It shall bee so much more horrible for them, by how much they may offend more freely then other men. So saith *Otho*.

Thomas Aquinas, (if the Tractate *De regimine Principum* bee his) maketh three sorts of Kings: Kings by *election*, Kings by *subordination*, and Kings by *succession*. For the first hee saith, that they which did establish, may abolish: for the second, wee must have our recourse to him that did surrogate the subordinate King: as the Jewes did to *Cesar* against *Herod*: for the last, his resolution is *Recurrendum esse ad omnium Regem Deum*, that wee must flie to God, the King of all Kings, in whose onely power it is, to mollifie the cruell heart of a Tyrant. And that men may obtaine this at the hands of God, they must cease from sinnes for wicked Princes, by Divine permission are exalted to punish the sinnes of the people, *Tollenda est igitur culpa et cessat Tyrannorum plaga*: Wee must therefore remove our sinnes,

Aquin. de regimine Princ.
lib. 1. cap. 6.

finnes, that God may take away his punishment: Thus saith *Thomas*.

Gratianus, which compiled the decrees, is very peremptory, that the Bishop of *Rome*, ought not to meddle with the temporall sword, the state of Common-wealths, or the change of Princes. Hee saith nothing indeede *De Regni ordinibus*, which in his time, and a 100. yeares after him, never dreamed of any such authority. *Cum Petrus qui primus Apostolorum à Domino fuerat electus, materiale gladium exerceret*: When Peter whom the Lord had first chosen of all the Apostles, drew the materiall sword, to defend his Master from the injuries of the Jewes, hee was commanded to sheath his sword: *For all that take the sword, shall perish by the sword*. As if Christ should have said, Hitherto it was lawfull for thee and thine Ancestours to persecute Gods enemies with the temporall sword, hereafter thou must put up that sword into his place, and draw the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, to slay the old man: whosoever beside the Prince, and without his authority, that hath lawfull power, and as the Apostle teacheth, *Beareth not the sword in vaine*, to whom every soule must bee subject, whosoever (I say) without or beside the Princes authority, beareth the sword, shall perish by the sword: Thus saith *Gratian*.

Math. 26. 52.

*Caus. 23.
quest. 8. p. 1.
reg. 1.*

Rom. 13. 4.

About the yeare a 1300. beganne a quarrell betweene *Boniface* the eight, and *Philippus Pulcher* the French King, about the collation of benefices, Prebends, and other Ecclesiasticall promotions. Whereupon the Pope wrote unto the said King, as followeth: *Boniface* Bishop, the servant of Gods servants, to his wel-beloved Sonne *Philipp*, by Gods grace King of *France*, Greeting, and blessing Apostolicall. Feare God and keepe his law: Wee give thee to understand that thou art subject to us both in spiritual things, and temporall, and that no gift of benefices or Prebends belongeth to thee. If thou have in thy hand any vacant, keepe the profits of them to the Successours, and

and if thou hast bestowed any, wee decree the collation void, and recall it, how farre soever it hath proceeded. Whosoever beleeveth otherwise, wee account him a foole: Dated at *Lateran* the fourth of the Calends of *December*, and in the sixth yeare of our Papacy. King *Philip* returned his haughtinesse, a correspondent answer, viz. *Philip* by the grace of God, King of *France*, to *Boniface* bearing himselfe for Pope, *Salutem modicam sine nullam. Sciat tua maxima fatuitas*. Little health or none at all. Let thy great foolishhip know, that in temporall things wee are subject to no man. And that the gifts of Prebends and Ecclesiasticall promotions, made, and to bee made by us, were and shall bee lawfull, both in time past and in time to come. For such collations belong to us in the right of our Crowne: wherefore, wee will manfully defend the Possessours of the said dignities, and doe judge them that thinke otherwise fooles and mad men; Given at *Paris* the Wednesday after *Candlemasse*, 1301. Questionlesse this King that did so scornefully reject the Popes challenge pretended from Christ, would little regard the claime of the Nobles, derived but from the people.

Philip. Pulcher.

The same busie *Boniface*, of whom some write, that hee came in like a *Fox* craftely, raigned like a *Lyon* cruelly, and died like a *Dogge* miserably, would take upon him the definition of a controversie betwene the Kings of *England* and *Scotland*, and commanded King *Edward* of *England* either to cease his claime, or to send his Procuratours to the Apostolike see, to shew his right, and to receive such order from the Pope, as justice and equity would require. The Lords and Commons then assembled in Parliament at *Lincolne* sent *Boniface* this answer in the Kings behalf: Whereas our most dread Lord *Edward* by the grace of God, the Noble King of *England*, caused your Letters to bee read openly before us, touching certaine occurrences of state betwene him and the King of *Scotland*, wee did not a little marvelle at the contents thereof, so strange and

llw 1

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wonder-

Parliament
at Lincoln
quoted by M.
Bokenham.

wonderfull, as the like hath never beens heard of. Wee know (most Holy Father) and it is well knowne in this Realme, and also to other Nations, that the King of England ought not to make answer for his right before any Judge Ecclesiasticall or secular: by reason of the free estate of his Royall dignity and custome, without breach at all times unviolably observed: Wherefore after treaty had and diligent deliberation, this was our resolution, that our said King ought not to answer in judgement, nor send Procuratours or Messengers to your Court: seeing that tendeth manifestly to the disinheriting of the right of the Crowne, the overthrow of the state of the Kingdome, and the breach of the liberties, customes, and lawes of our Fathers, for the keeping whereof, wee are bound by the duty of an oath, and will (by Gods helpe) maintain: and defend with all our power an strength, &c. Dated at Lincoln *ad. Dom. 1301* & *Anno Edwardi primi 29*. This was then the resolution of the State of this Land: if our late Sectaries *Papish* or *Parisian*, bring in any other Doctrine, wee may not leave the cawsey of truth and obedience, whereon our Fore-fathers walked to their commendation, to follow these new guides, in their bypaths of pride, disobedience, and contempt of authority, to our destruction.

Vincentius in his *Speculo Historiali* hath a notable place *lib. 19. c. 84.* to dissuade from sedition and perjury. *Vt pace omnium bonarum dixerim, hac sola novitat (ne dicam Herefi) ne dum e Mundo emerferat.* That I may speake with the favour of all good men, this meere novelty (if not Herefie) was not sprung up in the World, that Priests should teach subjects, that they owe no subjection to wicked Kings, and albeit they have given an oath of fidelity unto them, they are not bound to keepe it: Nay, they that obey an evil Prince, are to bee held as excommunicated, and all such as rebell against him, are free from the guilt of the crime of perjury.

So firma licta *non movetur* *I will*

I will end this Chapter with *Enchiridion*, who died in the yeare 1464. *Sit tandem finis litium*, Let there bee an end of contention, and one principall head to determine all temporall matters: let the occasion of perpetuall debate bee taken away, let men acknowledge themselves subject to their Prince, and give reverence to him, whom God hath made his vicegerent on Earth. As that which God commandeth must bee obeyed without contradiction, so the temporall Commandements of Caesar, may not bee resisted. But let the Kings themselves beware that they oppress no man unjustly, nor give their people cause to erie to God against them, for the Earth is the Lords and the fullnesse thereof: hee will not forget the erie of the poore: and for the sinne of the Prince hee translateth the Government from one Nation to another. There is nothing more offensive to the greatest God, the King and Creatour of Heaven and Earth, then the neglect of justice, and the oppression of the poore: as the Psalmist saith, The poore shall not alway bee forgotten, and the patient abiding of the needy shall not perish for ever. So saith *Silvius*.

*Pius 2. de or-
tu & author.
Imperii c. 23.*

*The seventh Chapter sheweth the
concord of Papist and Puritan for the deposition
of Kings, and their discord about the meanes and
persons to bee employed in the execution
of their designements.*

Childerick was deposed, and Pipin crowned King of France about the yeare 750. The truth of which history is this. Childerick void of all princely gravity, gave himselfe over to pleasure and wantonnesse, leaving the government of the state to Pipin, who was his Lord and Counsellor.

Who

Who conspired with the Nobles, to advance himselfe, by the deposition of the King his Master. To set a better colour on the matter, *Pipine* sent his Chaplaine to Pope *Zachary*, to have his answer to this Question: *Whether should bee King, hee that bare the name and did nothing, or hee that governed the Kingdoms?* The Pope gave sentence with the Marshall against the King, whereupon, *Childerick* was made a shorne Monke, and *Pipine* a crowned King.

It is a wonder to see how these opposite Sectaries, doe insist upon this fact of the *French men*, to justify their dangerous doctrine, and seditious conspiracies against Princes. As *Cardinall Bellarmine de Pontif. lib. 2. cap. 17.* *Thomas Harding* against the Apologie of the Church of England, fol. 181. *Franc. Feuardentine* in his Commentaries on *Hester*, pag. 85. *Bouhier alias Reynolds de jure abdications Honori 2. lib. 3. cap. 14.* *Ficklerus de jure Magistratum* fol. 30. *Alexander Caverius patavinus de potestate Pape*, lib. 2. cap. 3. *D. Marta de temporalis & spiritualis Pontificis potestate*, lib. 1. c. 23. and *Doleman* in his conference touching succession part. 1. cap. 3. pag. 48. And also these *Puritans*, *Christopher Goodman* in his treatise of obedience, pag. 53. *George Buchanan de jure Regni apud Scotos*, pag. 47. *Damian de politica Christiana* lib. 3. cap. 6. pag. 221. *Brutus Celsus de jure Magistratum*, pag. 286. *Phyladelphus dialogo* 2. pag. 65. *Franc. Hottomannus* in his *Francia* cap. 13. and *Speculum tyrannidis Philippi Regis* pag. 27. The Papists which ascribe this deposing power to the Pope, endeavour by tooth and nail, to disprove that interest which the Puritans grant the Peeres, or the people. First, this example served *Gregory* the seventh to excuse his presumptuous practices against *Henry* the fourth. *Quidam Romanus Pontifex*: A certaine Bishop of Rome deposed a King of France, not so much for his ill life, as for that hee was not fit for government, and placed *Pipine*, which was Father to *Charles* the great in his place, solving all the *French men* from the oath of allegiance, which they had sworne to their King. Thus farre

Lib. de unit.
Eccles. apud
Scot. pag. 3.

farre Gregory in an Epistle to one *Herimannus*, that was Bishop of Metz in France.

Thomas Harding concludeth from this fact, a Divine power in the Pope. Can you not see (saith *Harding*) what strength and power is in the Pope, which is able with a word, to place and displace the mightiest King in Europe? with a word, I say, for I am sure you can shew us of no army, that hee sent to execute his will. Is it in the power of man (thinke you) to appoint Kingdomes? can the Devill himselfe, at his pleasure set up and depose Kings? no surely. Much lesse can any member of his doe the same. Remember you what *CHRIST* said, when the Jewes objected, that hee did cast out Devils in the name of the Prince of Devils? beware you sinne not against the holy Ghost, who confesse that the Pope hath pulled downe and set up Kings. Which thing undoubtedly hee could never doe profitably and peaceably, but by the great power of God, &c. So farre *Harding*.

Cardinall *Bellarmino* the Grand-master of Controversies, cannot endure to heare that this deposition was done by any other then the Papall authority. The Pope (saith hee) *Judicavit licere Francis, regnum Childerici in Pipinum transferre*. The Pope gave judgement that the Frenchmen might lawfully transferre *Childericks* Kingdome to *Pipin*: and did absolve them from the oath which they had sworne unto him. No man that hath his right wit can deny this to be lawfull. For the very event hath proved, that change to bee most fortunate: seeing the Kingdoms of France, was never more potent, nor Religion more flourishing, then under *Pipin* and *Charles* his Sonne. Thus farre *Bellarmino*.

This Cardinals reason from the successe to the approbation of the fact, will conclude well for the *Turke*, who hath longer continued, more flourished and enlarged his state, then the House of *Pipin*. Heare in a word the true successe of *Pipins* posterity out of *Beneventus Imoleus* and *Pantus*

Consur. of
the Apolog.
fol. 181.

De Pontif.
lib. 2. cap. 174

Beneventus
Emilius, Imoleus,

Paulus Ac-
milus.

Amilins. The first of that line was *Charles* the great, in whose time the Empire was divided. The second was *Ludovicus Pius*, against whom *Lotharius*, an unnaturall Sonne, did conspire: who thrust his Father to a Cloister, and placed himselfe in the Throne, where hee fate like a Tyrant, till hee was also depofed. The fourth was *Ludovicus secundus*, a man unfortunate in all his doings. The fifth was *Ludovicus tertius*, whom they call *Ludovicus nihil*, or *Lewis* no-body. The sixth was *Charles* the Bald, a very Coward. The seventh was *Carolus Crassus*, as very a Foole. *Arnulphus* the eight of that progeny, was eaten with lice. The ninth was *Ludovicus quartus*, in whom that race ended.

De potest.
Pontif. lib. 2.
cap. 3. num. 6.

151. 100. 2. 101

Alexander Caverius inferreth the absolute sovereignty of the Pope over all Kings, even to depose them, and to transpose their Realmes, from the insufficiency of the Nobles and People. *Esto quod verum sit Papam, non deposuisse Regem Francia*: Bee it true that the Pope did not depose the King of *France*, but gave consent to the Peeres and People to depose him, this is a most manifest profe of our intent: that Kings have one, if not many superiours, viz. the Barons and people of their Kingdome: and overthroweth their position and conclusion, *That Kings have in temporall things no superiour*, no, not the Bishop of *Rome*. But seeing the Barons and People could neither judge nor deprive him, because they wanted coactive power, which Vassals or Subjects have not over their Sovereigne, it followeth necessarily, that the Pope by his Princely power, as superiour to the King in temporalities, might lawfully depose him. Thus *Barre Caverius*.

D. Marsa, is as peremptory for the Pope, against the pretended claime of the Peeres, or the People. *Childericus privatus est Regno Francia ob stupiditatem & ineptitudinem in administrando*. *Childeric* was deprived of the Kingdome of *France*, for his stupidity and unfittesse to governe. They that say hee was not deprived by the Pope alone, but

by

by them that desired another King, doe not answer the reasons allcaded for the Popes Sovereigne power in temporalities: nay, they confirme the Popes power. *Baldus* asketh this question, when the Emperour is unprofitable, or mad, or a drunkard, may the people depose him, or assigne him a Coadjutor? No, saith hee, the Pope must doe it, for *De temp. & the Pope is the crowne and braine of the people.* And wee have *spir. Pontif. proved before, that God did give no jurisdiction to the people, but to Moses and his Successours.* Wherefore the *poteft. part. 1. cap. 23. num. 15. 16. 17.* Vassals or Peeres which represent the people, have no power common with the Pope, in the deposing of Princes. And in that they say, that the *Frenchmen* desired another King, it is a great confirmation, that the Pope hath right to dispose of Kingdomes. Hee useth to desire, who hath not of his owne: or cannot of himselfe effect that, which he would have done: Thus farre *Marta.*

They that plead for the state of the Laity, are as confident against the Pope and Clergy. *Vt paucis dicam* (saith *Iunius*) *he fecit Zacharias ut Dominus aut ut mandatarinus, auctoritate instructus à Domino,* that I may use few words, the Pope deposed *Childerick* either as his Lord, or as a mandatar having authority from the Lord; but hee did it neither way. Not as Lord, how could hee bee Lord in *France*, that in those dayes had no Lordship in *Rome*? hee did it not as mandatar, for then hee ought to have shewed his authority, which hee neither did, nor could shew. CHRIST would not divide a private inheritance, shall *Zachary* then presume to depose Kings, or transpose Kingdomes. Thus farre *Iunius.*

Ceterum quod Monachus iste (saith *Lambertus Danauus*) whereas this Monke *Bellarmino* contendeth, that *Childerick* was lawfully deposed by Pope *Zacharias*, a stranger, a Priest, no Magistrate, but (in this respect) a private person, though hee were Bishop of *Rome*. Will hee ever bee able to prove or defend his assertion? Can *Zachary* have authority in *France*, being a stranger? can hee depose the publike Magi-

Resp. Dana. ad Bellar. l. 2. cap. 17. pag. 316.

State, being but a private person? or transference that principality to *Pipin* that he hath no right unto? and commit to many sacriledges and impieties, stealing from *Childerich*, and giving to *Pipin* another mans right? authorising subjects to violate their oaths, which they had sworn to their King? transposing Kingdomes from one man to another, whereas it doth onely belong to God to depose Kings, and dispose of Kingdomes? thou maist see (*Bellarmin*) how many outrages this thy *Zachary* hath committed, beside that hee did thrust his sickle into another mans harvest, and meddled with the cobbler beyond his last, in that, being but a Priest hee tooke upon him the decision of the right of Kingdomes. Thus saith *Danatus*, who is not so violent against

Danatus p^al. the Pope, as hee is virulent for the deposing power of
Christ. 16. 63 Peeres, or States of the Kingdome. The Kings (saith hee)
Pg. 414. of *Lacedemonia* had the *Ephori* to controll them. The States-

Mulus mag-
lum scabre. men of the *Romane* Common-wealth, deposed the Empe-
 rours, which were Tyrants, and abused their authority.

Cap. 13. The *French* states hath often dethroned their Kings: The
 Nobles of *Spain* may doe it by their Law: And the History
 of the *Scottish* affaires (excellently well written by * *Buchan-*
an) doth report that the States-men of that Countrey, have
 many times deprived the Kings of *Scotland*. Finally, natu-
 rall reason, and the practise of all nations doth confirme,
 that the States-men in every Kingdome, may depose Kings,
 that are peccant. So saith hee. *Hottoman* in his *France*
Gallia, hath a long Chapter to prove that this might be
 done lawfully, by the Peeres, or the People, but in no case
 by the Pope or the Clergy.

Men cannot say (as it is in the proverbe) *Nimium alter-*
omnis veritas amittitur, seeing that in this opposition, the
 truth is not lost, but divided among them. For their pre-
 misses, brought together, will unavoidably conclude, that
 this deposing power, is neither in the Pope, the Peeres, nor
 the People. Though it were, the reason of the seditious
Papists and Puritans, a falso ad jus, is sophisticall in the

Schools,

Schooles, where nothing can bee concluded: *Ex multis particularibus*, of meeke particular instances. Absurd in law, *Quia legibus non exemplis vivitur*, for men must doe as the law requireth, not as other men praetise. Erroneous in Divinity, *Non ideo quia factum credimus faciendum credamus, ne violamus preceptum, dum sectamur exemplum*. We may not do that, which hath bin done by other men, lest we break the law of God, in following the example of man. And dangerous in policy, as my Lord of Northampton, the ornament of learning, observeth. "The flie (saith that noble Earle) setting on the "cart wheele, might as well wonder at the dust raised in "the way, as Gregory or Zachary, draw counsell to power, "and make that fact their owne, which was hammered in "the forge of ambition, countenanced with the colour of "necessity, and executed by Pipin, a Minister, that being "weary of subordination; resolved by this trick, when the "meanes were fitted and prepared to the plot, to make "himself absolute. The case of Kings were pitifull, if *Ex familiar singularibus*, it were lawfull to draw leaden rules in their disgrace. Thus farre the Earle.

August. ad
Consen. de
mendac. cap. 9.

The eight Chapter sheweth the danger of this Doctrine, and the originall of the Puritan position, concerning the power of Statesmen to punish and depose Princes in Monarchies.

These desperate attempts, suggested by the Devil, executed by the people, encouraged by the state, and approved by the Pope, must serve as admonitions to Princes, to humble themselves before God: *Qui non dabit sanctis suis in sapientem dentibus eorum*; Who will not give his Saints

Law of Monarch. p. 60.

for a prey to their teeth. For it is not heard (as our great King remembreth) *That any Prince forgeteth himselfe in his duty to God, or in his vocation? But God with the greatnesse of the plague: reuengeth the greatnesse of his ingratitude.*

These practises therefore must bee no president for Peeres, or People to follow, because God hath forbidden Christian subjects to resist, though Kings raigne as Tyrants; and commanded them to endure with patience, though they suffer as Innocents. And also, because that in stead of relieving the Common-wealth out of distresse, which is ever the pretence of seditious practitioners, they shall heape mischiefe on it, and desolation on themselves: as (*Aquinas*) if hee bee the Authour of the Booke *De Regimine Principum*, sheweth manifestly. *Esset multitudini periculosum &*

De reg. Princ.
lib. 2, cap. 6.

ejus relictibus: It were dangerous to Subjects and Governours, that any should attempt to take away the life of Princes, though they were Tyrants: for commonly, not the well disposed, but the ill affected men, doe thrust themselves into that danger. And the Government of good Kings, is as odious to bad men, as the rule of Tyrants to good people. Wherefore the Kingdome, by this presumption would bee rather in danger to forgoe a good Prince, then a wicked Tyrant. So farre *Thomas*.

Chrysostome:

They that are the Authours or abettors of sedition, can neither avoid shame in earth, nor escape eternall damnation. Though God the great Iudge doe sometime permit rebels, in his Justice to prevaile against Kings, for their contempt of the law of the highest, and the neglect of their owne duty; The reward of rebellion shall bee no better then the recompence of *Sathan*, who is the instrument of the Lords wrath for the punishment of all disobedience. It is most true that as sick men, neere their death, have many idle fancies, so the World before the end thereof shall bee troubled with many errors. In these declining dayes of the World, many Countreies, Cities, and Cantons, renounced their old Government, and submitted themselves to such a

new

new regiment as they best liked : for confirmation of which practises, there wanted not politike Divines; (what wine is so soure that some hedge grapes will not yeeld) to invest the people and Nobles with the power over Kings, to dispose of their Kingdomes. The Heathen Politicians from whom this politike Divinity is derived, knowing not the true God, and having no rule to direct them, but naturall reason, thought him no murtherer, but a *Defender of his Countrey that killed Tyrants*. But this pagan principle, being a plant that CHRIST hath not planted, must bee plucked up by the rootes. I can find no ground of this lewd learning, beyond 220. yeares in the Christian World : The first Authours of it being *Johannes de Parisiis*, *Iacobus Almain*, *Job. de Paris* and *Marsilius Patavinus* : *Vbi peccat Rex in temporalibus*, *de potest. Reg.* *saith Johannes de Parisiis*, *Papa non habet ipsum corrigere*: *gia & Papa*, *cap. 14.* When the King offended in the temporall Government, the Pope hath no authority to correct him, but the Barons or Peeres of the Realme, and if they either cannot, or dare not meddle with him, they may crave the Churches aid to suppress him : so farre *John of Paris*.

Tota communitas (saith *Iacob Almain*) *potestatem habet* *Iacob Almain* *Principem deponere*. All the communalty, hath power to depose their Prince, which power the communalty of France used, when they deprived their King, not so much for his impiety, as for his disability to manage so great a charge: so farre *Almain*. *Regis depositio & alterius institutio* (saith *Marsil. Patavinus*) the deposition of a King, and the institution of another in his place, belongeth not to the Bishop of *Rome*, to any Priest, or to the Colledge of Priests, but to the universall multitude of the Subjects. So farre *bee*.

From these, the Puritans have learned their error of the power of *Senates-men* over Kings, then which; no opinion can bee more dangerous : where the Nobility are ready to practise, as the Puritan Preachers are to practise. What presumption is it in men, to passe the bounds which God hath

hath set them, to controll the wisdoms of the Lord, and his unspeakable goodnesse, when hee maketh triall of the patience of his Saints, by the outrage and tyranny of cruell Kings, that they which are found patient in trouble, constant in truth, and loyall in subjection, may bee crowned with glory. Were wee perswaded, that the *hearts of Kings are in Gods hand*, that the haire of our head are numbred, and that no affliction can befall us, which God doth not dispose to the exercise of our faith, the triall of our constancy, or the punishment of our sinne, wee would as well admire the justice of God, in permitting Tyrants, that our finnes may bee judged, and punished in this World, as praise his mercy and favour, in giving rest to his servants, under the protection of godly and gracious Princes.

The ninth Chapter sheweth the generall consent of the Moderne Puritans touching the coercion, deposition, and killing of Kings whom they call Tyrants.

THE Citizens of Geneva, changed the Government from a Monarchy to a Democracy in the yeare of Christ, 1536. In the which yeare, *John Calvin* came into that City, to visit his friend *Forellus*; And was chosen the publike reader of Divinity. At his first coming thither, hee published his *Theological instructions*. Wherein hee doth very learnedly, and Christianly intreat of the authority of Princes, and the duty of subjects. One onely place is harsh, and dangerous: delivered in obscure, and doubtfull termes, to excuse (as I conceive) the outrage of the Citizens, against their Prince, whom they had not many weekes before expelled: not to authorise other men to attempt the like against

against their ſoveraigne Magiſtrates. His words are theſe, *Si qui ſunt populares Magiſtratus, ad moderandum regum libidinem conſtituti.* If there bee any popular Magiſtrates, to reſtraine the licentiousneſſe of Kings, of which kind were the *Ephori* oppoſed againſt the *Lacedemonian* Kings, the Tribunes of the people, which curbed the *Romane* Conſuls, and the Demarchy which bridled the Senate of *Athens*; And ſuch peradventure as things now ſtand are the three ſtates in every Kingdome, aſſembled in Parliament. I doe not deny, but theſe in regard of their duty, ſtand bound to repreſſe the unrulineſſe of licentious Kings: Nay, I affirme, that if they doe but winke at thoſe Kings, which peeviſhly make havock of their people, and inſult againſt their communalty, that they waite not the guſt of hainous treachery, becauſe they betray the liberty of the people, whoſe guardians they know themſelves to bee appointed. Thus ſaith *Calvin*. Since which time all Puritans have turned his conjunction *conditionall*, into an *illative*, his adverb of *doubting* to an *affirmative*, and his permiſſive, *Non veto*, into a verb of the *imperative mode*, in their bookes of regiment ſecular, and Diſcipline Eccleſiaſticall.

Chriſtopher Goodman, publiſhed a treatiſe of obedience at *Geneva*, not without the very good liking and approbation of the beſt learned in that City, 1557. wherein hee affirmeth, That if Magiſtrates tranſgreſſe Gods law themſelves, and command others to doe the like, they looſe that honour, and obedience which otherwiſe is due unto them, and ought no more to bee taken for Magiſtrates: but to bee examined and puniſhed as private Tranſgreſſours: So ſaith *Goodman*.

Much about the ſame time was *Knox* his *appellation* printed in the ſame place, wherein hee ſearcheth not to affirm, That it had beene the duty of the Nobility, Iudges, Rulers, and people of *England* not onely to have reſiſted *Mary*, that *Jezabel* whom they call their Queene, but alſo to have puniſhed her to the death, with all ſuch as ſhould

Inſtit. lib. 4.
cap. 20. Sec. 3.

Page 119.

Geneva ſcd.
156.

should have assisted her, what time that since openly beganne to suppress Christs Gospell, to shed the blood of the Saints, and to erect that most Devilish Idolatry, the Papisticall abominations, and his usurped tyranny. Thus saith *Knox*.

Page 216.

Ann. 1560. Theodore Beza printed his Confessions, wherein hee voucheth, That there are vices inherent in the Persons of Princes, though they bee lawfully established, by succession, or election, *viz.* Vngodlinesse, covetousnesse, ambition, cruelty, luxury, lechery, and such like sinnes which Tyrants delight in. What shall bee done in this case to these Princes? I answer (saith hee) that it belongeth to the superiour powers, such as are the seven Electours in the Empire, and the States-men of the Kingdome almost in every Monarchy, to restraints the fury of Tyrants, which if they doe not, they are Traytours to their Countries, and shall before the Lord give an account of their treachery. Thus saith *Beza*.

*Horum. Scot.
lib. 17. pag.
390.*

1561. The very yeare after, there was a contention betweene the Nobility and Clergy of *Scotland* about this matter, (as *Buchanan* reporteth :) let him tell his owne tale. *Calendis Novemb. Regina ad Massam*: The Queene upon the Feast of All-Saints, added to her private Masse all the solemnities and superstitious Ceremonies of the Papists; The Ministers of the Gospell tooke it very ill, complained thereof to the people, in their publike congregations, and admonished the Nobility of their duty in that behalfe: whereupon rose a controversie in a house of private meeting, betweene the Nobles and Preachers, whether the Nobles may restraints Idolatry, that is like to breake out to a generall destruction: and by rigour of law, compell the chiefe Magistrate to his duty, when he exceeded his bounds? The Ministers of the Church stood stedfast in opinion, as they had formerly done, that the chiefe Magistrate may bee compelled even by forcible meanes to live according to law: but the Noble men because of the Queenes favour, hope

Note how
basely the
Puritans esteeme
the
Nobility
when they
shew them.

of honour, or love of lucre, did a little waver, and thoughte otherwise then the Ministers: and so in the end judgement passed with the Nobles, because they were more in number and of better esteeme and reputation. Thus farre *Buchanan*.

1568. The outlandish Churches in *London* concluded this Canon in a classcall Synod, *Si quisquam repugnans legibus Patriæ*: If any man usurpe Lordship, or Magistracy, against the lawes and priviledges of the Countrey, or if hee that is a lawfull Magistrate, doe unjustly bereave his subjects of the priviledges, and liberties which he hath sworne to performe unto them, or oppresse them by manifest tyranny, the inferiour officers must oppose themselves against him, for they are in duty bound before God, to defend their people, as well from a Domestickall, as a forraigne Tyrant. Thus farre they.

1574. Wee had swarmes of caterpillers: namely, *Disciplina Ecclesiastica* from *Roche*, to teach us, that the Senate Ecclesiasticall hath the chiefe moderation of the Christian society, and ought to provide that no Magistrate bee defective in his charge, and by common care, counsell, and authority to oversee, that every Governour cary himselfe faithfully in his Magistracy. Thus farre that authour.

Franco Gallia from *Cole*n, wherein wee find that the people hath power to dethrone their Princes. Pag. 48.

Inimicus de jure Magistratum (as some thinke from *Gemma*) wherein it is said, that the people have the same right to depose Kings that are Tyrants, which a generall counsell hath to displace a Pope that is an Heretique. Pag. 306.

Ensebius Phyladelphus from *Edenborough*, wherein wee read, that it was as lawfull for his Brethren of *France*, to defend themselves against the tyranny of *Charles* the ninth King of that name in *France*, as for wayfaring men to resist and repell theeves, cut-throats, and wolves: nay further, I am (saith hee) of opinion with the old people of *Rome*, that of all good actions the murder of a Tyrant

is most commendable. Thus farre hee.

Reg. 206.

1577. Came forth the *Vindicia contra Tyrannos*, with this resolution, That Princes are chosen by God, established by the people: every private man is subject to the Prince: the Multitude and the Officers of State which represent the Multitude, are Superiours to the Prince: yea they may judge his actions, and if hee make resistance, punish him by forcible meanes. So farre hee.

1584. *Danans* finished his booke of Christian policy, wherein among many other hee propoundeth, and answereth a *Noble question*, as hee termeth it. *Nobilis questio sequitur*. A noble question followeth, whether it bee lawfull for subjects to change and alter their Government? Yea, whether it may bee done by godly men with a good conscience? his answer is. The chiefe Magistrate, that notoriously and wilfully violateth the fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome, may bee displaced by godly subjects, with a good conscience. And this is his reason, *Reges summiq; Magistratus*, Kings and chiefe Magistrates are the Vassals of the Kingdome, and of the Common-wealth where they rule: Wherefore, they may bee dispossessed and dejected when they shall obstinately attempt any thing, against the feudall Lawes of the Kingdome where they governe, as Kings and chiefe Magistrates. And it is truly said, that as a generall Councell, is above the Pope, so the Kingdome or the Peeres of the Land, are above the King, Thus farre *Danans*.

De Jure Reg.
Pg. 31.

1585. *George Buchanan* proclaimed Rewards, as well for murthering Kings as killing Tygers. If I (saith hee) had power to make a Law, I would command Tyrants to bee transported from the society of men into some solitary place, or else to bee drowned in the bottome of the Sea, that the evill favour of dead Tyrants should not annoy living men. Further more I would award recompence to bee given for the slaughter of Tyrants, not onely of all in generall, but of every one in particular, as men use to reward them.

them for their paines which kill Wolves or Beares, and destroy their young ones. *Hac ille.*

The same yeare *Thomas Cartwright* commended *Dudley Fenners* his *Sacra Theologia* (as they call his booke) to the World, wherein men are warranted by sundry Texts of Scripture, most miserably abused, to destroy Tyrants. Therein hee (following the Common opinion of the *Pu. Lib. 5. cap. 135. virians*) maketh two sorts of Tyrants, *Tyrannus sine titulo*, pag. 185. and *Tyrannus exercitio*. For the Tyrant without title: Hee is confident, that any man may cut his throat. *Hinc quisque privatus resistet, etiam si potest à medio tollat*, Let every private man resist him, and if hee can, take away his life. For the Tyrant exercent: having described him to bee a Prince, that doth wilfully dissolve all, or the chiefest compacts of the Common-wealth, hee concludeth against him, *Hunc tollant, vel Pacificè vel cum Bello, qui ea potestate donati sunt, ut Regni Ephori vel omnium ordinum conventus publicus*. The Peeres of the Kingdome or the publique assembly of States, ought to destroy him; either by peaceable practises, or open warre. *Hac ille.*

Anno 1588. Hermannus Renccherus published observations upon the first Psalme, wherein hee investeth the Presbitery with all the Popes Prerogatives. Concerning the Presbiterian power over Kings, this is his notable annotation: God (saith hee) hath ordained the Civill Magistrate for the good of the Ecclesiasticall order, therefore the Ecclesiasticall State is the highest throne of Gods earthly Kingdome, the supream seate of all excellency, and the chiefest Court wherein God himselve is president, to distribute eternall gifts to his servants. Whereas the politicall Empire is but as it were an inferiour bench, wherein justice is administered according to the prescription of the Ecclesiasticall sovereignty: Thus farre *Renccherus*.

Robert Rollocke, a man otherwise very learned, is carried with the current of this error, and borrowed his assertion of *Master Fenners*, whose words hee expoundeth by way

of *paraphrasis*, in his commentaries on *Daniel* printed at *Edenborough*, 1591. Though the chiefe lawfull Magistrate (saith Master *Rollock*,) doe many things unjustly and tyrannously, hee may not rashly bee violated, by them especially which have not authority: but the Nobles or the publike assembly of States, must reduce him to his duty, by reproofe and all other lawfull meanes, 1 *Sam.* 14. 46. If hee doe still persist in open and desperate tyranny, wilfully dissolving all or the chiefe compactes of the Common-wealth, private men must not yet meddle with him, onely the Peeres, or the publike assembly of all States to whom that charge belongeth, must provide that the Church and Common-wealth come not to desolation: though it cannot otherwise bee done, then by the death and destruction of the tyrant. Better it is that an evill King bee destroyed, then the Church and State together ruined. Thus farre *Rollock*, For proofe hee referreth his Reader first to the 1 *Sam.* 14. 46. viz. *Then Saul came up from the Philistims, and the Philistims went to their owne place: ergo* Kings that are wicked may bee reduced to their duty by the Peeres, or assembly of States according to the rules of the new *Puritan logicks*. Secondly, for the killing and destroying of Kings, hee referreth his Readers to the 2. *Reg. cap.* 11. verse 4. 5. 6. 7. which place I thinke, hee never vouchsafed to looke upon, but set it downe as hee found it quoted in *Fenners Divinity*, from whom hee hath taken all the rest.

I will make an end with *William Bucannus*, whose Booke was published at the request, and with the approbation of *Beza* and *Goulartius*, maine pillars of the Church of *Geneva*. 1602. They (saith *Bucannus*) which have any part of office in the publike administration of the Common-wealth, as the Overseers, Senatours, Consuls, Peeres, or Tribunes, may restraine the insolency of evill Kings. Thus farre hee.

This *Puritan dangerous* error is directly repugnant to the Law, the Gospel, the Precepts of the Apostles, the practise

practise of Martyrs, and the Doctrine of the Fathers, Councils, and other classcall Writers, as I have proved in the six former Chapters: and will more directly shew (by the grace of God) in my other Booke: wherein the holy texts of Scripture, which the *Papists* and *Puritans* doe damnablely abuse against the Ecclesiasticall and Civill authority of Kings, shall bee answered by the godly Protestants: whose labour God used to reforme his Church since the yeare of our Lord, 1517, and by the ancient Fathers and Orthodoxall Writers in every age of the Church. This *Puritan-position*, which authoriseth Nobles and assemblies of States against wicked Kings, is the very assertion of the most seditious *Iesuites*, that have lived in our age, as I will demonstrate by two or three: *Iohannes Mariana*, whose Booke *De Rege in-* seemeth to bee written in defence of *Clement* the Frier, *lit. l. 2. c. 6.* who stabbed *Henry* the third King of *France*. The faults and licentiousnesse of Kings (saith *Mariana*) whether they raigne by consent of the people, or right of inheritance, are to bee borne and endured, so long as the Lawes of shamefastnesse and honesty, whereto all men bee bound, are not violated: for Princes should not rashly bee disturbed, least the Common-wealth fall into greater misery and calamity. But if the Prince make havock of the Common-wealth, and expose the private fortunes of his subjects for a pray to other men, if hee despise Law, and contemne Religion, this course must bee taken against him. Let him bee admonished and recalled to his duty: if hee repent, satisfie the Weale-publike, and amend his faults, there ought (as I thinke) to bee no further proceeding against him. But if there bee no hope of his amendment, the Common-wealth may take away his Kingdome. And because that cannot bee done (in all likelihoode) without warre, they may levy power, brandish their blades against their King, and exact money of the people, for the maintenance of their warre: for when there is no other helpe, the Peeres of the Common-wealth, having proclaimed their King a pub-

publike enemy, may take away his life. Thus farre Mariana.

In Hesterc. 1.
pag. 88.

The States-men of the Kingdome (saith *Franciscus Fevardentius*) have a soveraigne power over their Kings: for Kings are not absolutely established, but stand bound to observe lawes, conditions, and compacts, to their subjects: the which, if they violate, they are no lawfull Kings, but Theeves and Tyrants, punishable by the States. Thus farre *Fevardentius*.

De jure Ma-
gistr. fol. 18.

Inferiour Magistrates (saith *Iohannes Baptista Ficklerus*) are the Defenders and Protectours of the Lawes and rights of the State, and have authority (if need require) to correct and punish the supream King. So farre *Ficklerus*.

An *English* fugitive, which was the Authour of the booke *De justa abdicatione Henrici tertii*, affirmeth, That all the Majesty of the Kingdome, is in the assembly of States-men, to whom it belongeth to make covenants with God, to dispose of the affaires of the Kingdome, to appoint matters pertaining to warre and peace, to bridle the Kingly power, and to settle all things that belong to publique Government. So farre hee.

Part. 1. cap. 4.
pag. 72.

And the most seditious *Dolemon* saith, that all humane Law and order Naturall, Nationall, and positive, doth teach, that the Common-wealth, which gave Kings their authority for the Common good, may restraints or take the same from them if they abuse it to the Common ill: So farre *Dolemon*; and of this opinion are many other as may appear by Doctor *Morton* by whom they are discovered and refuted.

How farre this gangrene will extend, I know not. The Kings of Christendome are dayly crucified, (as *CHRIST* their Lord was) betweene two Theeves; I meane the Papist and Puritan, which have prepared this deadly poison for Princes, whom they in their owne irreligious and trayterous hearts, shall condemne for tyranny. I hope neither Peeres
nor

nor people will bee so fond to beleeeve them, or wicked to follow them, which pretend the Reformation of Religion, and defend the subversion of Christian States. If inferiour Officers, or the publique assembly of all States, will claime this power, it standeth them upon; (as they will avoid everlasting damnation) not to derive a title from *Rome*, *Lacedemon*, or *Athens*, (as *Calvin* doth, whom the rest follow) but from the Hill of *Sion*, and to plead their interest from the Law or the Gospel. *Si mandatum non est presumptio*, *August. in*
& ad penam proficiat, non ad pramium: quia ad contumeliam *quest. xix.*
pertinet conditoris, ut contempto Domino colantur servi, &
spresso Imperatore, adorenur Comites. If their opposition against Kings bee not commanded of God, it is presumption against God: for it is a contumely against God the Creatour of all States, to despise Lords and honour servants, to contemne the soveraigne Emperour, and to reverence the Peeres of the Empire. So farre *Augustine. My sonne*
(saith Solomon) feare God and the King, and meddle not with
the seditions: for their destruction shall come suddenly, and who
knoweth the end of them? The conclusion of all is, That Kings have supreme and absolute authority under God on earth, not because all things are subject to their pleasure, which were plaine tyranny, not Christian sovereignty: but because all persons, within their Dominions, stand bound in Law, allegiance, and conscience, to obey their pleasure, or to abide their punishment. And Kings themselves, are no way subject to the controule, censure, or punishment, of any earthly man, but reserved by speciall prerogative to the most fearefull and righteous judgement of God, with whom there is no respect of persons. Hee whole servants they are, *Will beate them with a rod of iron, and breake them in peeces like a potters vessell.* If they abuse that great, and soveraign power, (which God had endued them withall,) to support error, to suppress truth, and to oppress the innocent. God, of his great mercy, grant us the Spirit of truth, to direct us

Prov. 24. 21.

Puritan-Testimony

in all loyalty, that wee being not seduced by these sedi-
tious Sectaries, may grow in grace, stand fast in obedi-
ence, embrace love, follow peace, and encrease more
and more in the knowledge of our Lord
JESUS CHRIST. To whom bee
all praise, power, and dominion
now and for ever.

Amen.

FINIS.